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## MUNICIPAL MARKETS

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The twentieth century city has two very definite food problems. One is to keep its gates open to the food supply of the nation and the world; the other is to open wide its gates to the output of the agricultural country round about. One unfortunate result of making available to each city the food supply of all sections of the nation, and indeed of the world, has been to cause the urban dweller to give all too little heed to the output and prosperity of the surrounding farming community. The twentieth century need is to encourage near-by farmers to sell at home.

### *The Need for Selling at Home*

No section of the United States is now wholly rural. In all parts of the nation, the city is growing apace. In no state in the Union from 1900 to 1910 did the urban population increase less than 10 per cent, while in 16 states it increased from 10 to 30 per cent, in 13 states from 30 to 50 per cent, and in 19 states over 50 per cent. In 6 states the rural population actually declined; in 6 states the urban population more than doubled. This growth of cities in all parts of our country means ever-widening possibilities for local marketing and for selling at home. As the season's output runs from south to north, each city, through national agencies, can now avail itself of every possible variety of foodstuffs. But by proper civic action and coöperative encouragement each city can also buy an ever-increasing proportion of its own season's output at home. This buying and selling at home will mean a larger output from the surrounding farms; will mean the adaptation of that output to local markets; will mean stimulated land values and a more prosperous local community round about; will mean a richer purchasing clientele for the city's factories and stores; will mean goodly savings in food distribution, and hence in food costs.

The farmer's income increases with his marketing facilities. The Cornell Agricultural Survey of March, 1911, found that the average annual income from labor by 615 farmers, operating their

own farms, each with an average capital of \$5,527, was but \$423; and that the average annual labor income of 154 tenants was but \$379. Other sources also indicate that the average farmer does not make over \$700 per year, or less than two dollars per day. He does not make more now than does the average city wage-earner. This largely accounts for the exodus from the farm. It also points to the need, lest we become a nation of peasant farmers, for an increase in the farmer's actual income.

Increased facilities for selling at home will stimulate output. If we are to remain an exporting nation, our farmers must increase their yields and all land available to agriculture must be put to use. Due to the increase in urban population, without a corresponding stimulus to food producing, the amount of our exports is rapidly falling off. In 1904 the cattle exported were valued at \$41,000,000; in 1911, their value was \$14,000,000. From 1901 to 1911 the pounds of fresh beef exported fell from 354,000,000 to 9,000,000. Though a young nation, we are already on the verge of becoming dependent on the outside world for our food supply.

Selling at home will not only stimulate output but it will also have a psychological tendency to make the farmer adapt his output to local conditions. To derive the greatest possible profit from his products, the farmer must pay attention to the condition of his goods, to their appearance, and to economy and promptness in marketing them. While the output of any given farm will have to be adapted to soil and climate, to the abundance or scarcity of labor, to the size of the farm and to the tariff, yet, other things being equal, of greatest influence is the opportunity for marketing. Through proper marketing facilities, Munich, a city with a population of one-half a million, now gets one-fourth of its meats by road from neighboring farms.

Cities cannot live solely by the exchange of goods among themselves. They must also exchange their products for the farmers' goods. The city's prosperity is in direct ratio to the cost of distributing its output. For the manufacturer as well as the farmer, selling at home means lower distribution costs. The greater the freight and transportation costs, the lower the returns for the urban store. Urban prosperity is enhanced by selling to and buying from the country round about. In the more direct routing of food products lie golden prospects for lower living costs. Municipal markets further this direct routing.

*Municipal Markets in the United States*

Municipal markets are not new. They were formerly found in every village and city. It was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that the cities, absorbed in the development of their own industries, began to be neglectful of markets and market places. To be sure, fairly good markets still exist in many cities throughout the United States. Several cities claim fairly comprehensive markets. But such is not the rule. Out of 158 cities reporting to the Census Bureau for the Statistics of Cities for 1906, 104 (including 28 that spent less than \$1,000, and, therefore, must have had no market policy of any importance) reported no expenditures for either market or public scales; 42 reported expenditures of from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and only 12 of the 158 reported annual expenditures of \$10,000 or over. Out of 184 cities reporting for the Statistics of Cities for 1910, 88 reported no expenditures for markets and public scales; 35 reported an expenditure of less than \$1,000; 47 an expenditure of from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and but 14 an expenditure of over \$10,000. In other words, not over one city in a dozen throughout the United States has now anything like an effective market policy. Our cities are spending two dollars on cemeteries and crematories to one on markets; more, that is, on resting places for the dead than on food buying facilities for the living.

Municipal markets do not develop themselves. The American attitude has been to set aside a building or a plot of land for a market and then expect the market to be a success. The making of a successful municipal market with maximum results necessitates virile energetic thought and supervision. In the first place, there must be a terminal wholesale market in cities of any size where foodstuffs from both near-by and distant regions may be offered for sale as directly and as reliably as possible. A second essential is the adaptation of the kind and location of markets to modern customs, to movements in population and to transportation facilities. The third essential to a successful market policy is the encouragement of farmers' markets as distinct from merely groups of professional retailers, so that producer and consumer may be brought more directly together. Fourthly, charges for stall rents must be fixed at a point that will bring a reasonable return on the investment or present value, but not at a point that will return unduly large profits to the city. A fifth prerequisite to

success is to give to stall renters every reasonable facility in buying, preserving and selling their produce. Again the markets must be so regulated and supervised as to cleanliness, purity of food, and honesty in weights and measures, that it will be preferred by consumers as a buying place above other places not so regulated and supervised. And, finally, there must be thorough and systematic supervision and administration of the city's market policy, including reports on retail and wholesale prices, so that the public markets may be a real competitive factor both in attracting trade and in fixing consumers' prices.

### *The Wholesale Market for General Trade*

The wholesale terminal market is needed to give a reliable clearing place at minimum costs for food produce, coming alike from neighboring farms and from producers in distant regions, thus securing to the city both the season's output of other climes and the greatest possible amount of selling and buying at home.

But few municipal wholesale terminal markets are found in America and such as do exist are not always administered in a way conducive to the best results. Well administered terminal, wholesale markets are characteristic of every European city. Typical markets of this character are found in Budapest, Prague, Havre, Lyons, Brussels, London, Paris. The establishment in Paris, for instance, located near the Louvre, and known as the *Halles Centrales*, consists of ten pavilions and open structures, partly covered by a roof, occupying in its entirety 22 acres and erected at a total cost of \$22,000,000. In this vast entrepôt, various market supplies are received by rail, by drays, by boats in the Seine River and by great wagons from the country; over one billion pounds of products are sold there every year.

The great need of American cities is properly located, adequately equipped and well administered public terminal, wholesale markets. The prime essential for such a market is location at a point where the tracks of all the railroads entering the city can terminate. If possible, it should also be located near the water front with adequate wharfage facilities for all truck boats; if this is not possible, then there should be a second such market on the water front.

*An Auction Department in Wholesale Markets*

In order to fulfil its mission as a reliable terminal for produce sent into the city, a requisite essential to success is sale at auction by bonded city officials, forbidden to be interested directly or indirectly in the trade of market wares of any kind. The commission to be charged by these licensed auctioneers must be definitely fixed. In Europe the commission ranges around 2 per cent of the total annual auction sales. This in itself is a much lower cost for selling than the usual commission charged in this country. This saving, however, is a very insignificant part of the total savings to be made by adopting the auction system. Great savings will be brought about through the elimination of all commission abuses. Of still greater significance, the producer will be tempted to ship to the city with such a department, knowing full well that he will get maximum returns for his goods. The producer then has three choices: either alone or in coöperation with others, he can rent stands in one of the retail markets; he can ship directly to some wholesaler; or he can sell at this public auction. The experience of European cities is that he adopts the third.

Just such results from auction departments in terminal wholesale markets are emphasized in the recent special consular report on European markets.<sup>1</sup> Consul John C. Covert says as to this system in Lyons: "Fish and game are brought here for sale from England, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia and from all parts of France. If a grocer or butcher anywhere in France, in fact anywhere in Europe outside of Lyons, has an overstock of any kind of provision, he is always sure that he can get rid of it at the central market auction in Lyons. Often a stock of provisions is sold here at private sale by correspondence for and to parties outside the city." Consular Assistant Frank Bohn writes as to results obtained in Berlin: "The municipal sales commissioners are bonded officials who are forbidden to be interested, directly or indirectly, in the trade market wares of any kind. They are responsible to the market-hall management, and are allowed to collect a certain fixed percentage of all sales made. The primary purpose of these officers is to offer distant dealers and producers opportunity to ship in their wares, and have them brought into the hands of Berlin dealers and consumers, through the agency of

<sup>1</sup> See Special Consular Reports, Vol. xlii.

responsible middlemen and with the assurance of a published and steady price. A second or indirect purpose is that through their competition with the private wholesale dealers and through the daily publication of their report on the average wholesale prices for all wares and at all the halls, the municipal sales commissioners exercise a steadying influence upon the entire wholesale business. Although it is estimated that they handle only about one-fifth of the total wares received at the central market-hall, it is nevertheless conceded that they indirectly prevent extortion by the private wholesale dealer upon the producer or dealer on the one hand and upon the consumer or retailer on the other."

There can be little doubt that the auction department of the municipal wholesale terminal market is of great value in getting reliable and stable sales for goods sent in alike from the neighboring regions and from the most distant countries. To prevent abuse, it would be necessary to enforce strictly the regulation that all goods sold at the auction department must come from without the city.

#### *The Administration of Wholesale Markets*

Not only can trade be attracted from without by bona fide municipal auction sales at a terminal market and by similar means of giving confidence and publicity to such a market center, but facilities can also be offered of a character that will attract to such centers buyers from all parts of the city itself. As in European cities, chilled rooms can be provided into which perishable produce can be unloaded from the cars, and repacked to suit the trade, without the deterioration inevitably resultant from unloading in a warm atmosphere. Under the market-hall, cool, clean cellars and ample cold storage facilities can be made available for the temporary use of all buyers at reasonable rates. This will mean goodly savings in transporting costs and warehouse facilities and will prevent spoilage and lowered values. A municipal canning and preserving plant conveniently located in the building, pays for itself, and prevents deterioration and waste.

A municipal terminal market makes for many economies in food distribution. By delivering cars right at the wholesale market, all trucking from the railroad terminal to the wholesale market is eliminated. The significance and value of this saving will vary with each of the cities. For instance, every day from New England, quantities

of fish are brought to the freight terminal on the Harlem River in New York City, and, because of the lack of marketing facilities there, are then loaded on a barge and taken down to the fish market, there to be sold, only to be again carted back up town. A municipal market and distributing depot in the Lower Bronx on the Harlem River, at a point of convenient access to the railroads and water lines, will eliminate much of this useless trucking. It is safe to estimate that a terminal, wholesale market will save at least ten to twenty dollars a car in hauling costs. It will effect even greater economies in time, in interest on investments and in facilitating the marketing of the food supply. At many railroad terminals there are such private wholesale markets now. But they are not adequately regulated, they are not supervised by public officials, and they are not coördinated with the terminals of other steam, electric and water lines.

A wholesale market attracts not only retail dealers, large and small, but also the larger consumers, such as hotel and restaurant managers, and, more pertinent still, makes possible an increased amount of coöperative buying through consumers' leagues and consumers' coöperative associations. This direct buying without the retailer as an intermediary is definitely furthered by fixing the quantities that can be offered at wholesale at relatively small amounts. In the wholesale market at Havre, France, merchandise may be offered for sale in such small quantities as 6 ordinary sized bunches of vegetables; 9 quarts, or, when sold by weight, 11 pounds, of fruits and vegetables—even this minimum being reduced by half during April and May; vegetables which it is customary to sell by count, such as cabbages, cucumbers, tomatoes, etc., 1 dozen; oranges and lemons, 1 dozen; large vegetables, such as cantaloupes, melons, etc., in as small quantities as one of each. In Lyons, quails, partridges, ducks, etc., are put up in bunches of half a dozen or a dozen; eggs in lots of 100; oysters in boxes of 100; butter in lots of 50 pounds. With sales in such small quantities as these, the smaller consumers, through coöperation, and the larger consumers everywhere can buy with but one intermediary between them and the farmer, and that a public auction department that adds but 2 per cent to the cost of goods.

Buyers are further attracted to such markets through careful municipal inspection of the quality, quantity, weights and measures of all foodstuffs sold. Thus at the wholesale terminal market at Paris, supplies are received, inspected, weighed and sold to retailers and



consumers, under official supervision so constant and efficient as to preclude the sale of unwholesome food products and to prevent extortion and trickery.

Of greatest value to the wholesale terminal market, both because it advertises the market to the producers everywhere and because it gives a basis for comparison with the prices secured by private dealers, is the publishing of a daily bulletin giving the wholesale price of produce, and at least a weekly bulletin giving the retail price as paid by city consumers. This is done in certain European cities with telling effect. Thus the market at Budapest publishes a daily bulletin giving the wholesale price of produce, and a weekly list of retail prices, declaring itself not to be responsible for any controversy which may arise as to results thereof. No one activity on the part of market officials could more forcibly stimulate direct marketing than such published bulletins. Farmers could then have reliable information as to what prices they could secure at wholesale and what prices they could secure by selling their articles directly to consumers.

The economies and savings effected by well located, properly administered, carefully inspected wholesale markets, are, indeed, of no mean proportions.

Mr. John C. Covert, Consul at Lyons, says as to the results attained by the wholesale market there: "During the auction the market women and the keepers of small groceries, fish, fruit and vegetable stores fill the space in front of the auctioneer to replenish their stocks. This market is most emphatically favorable to the poorer classes. Many poor people bid off a bunch of game or fish, dividing the expense among themselves, thus procuring a luxury that they could not otherwise enjoy. It creates a center in the city to which food comes from many points, largely increasing the supply. It reduces the prices to retail dealers in the market and sharpens competition. The auctions are always public and the woman who buys of a small dealer often knows just how much the dealer paid for the articles in the market that morning."

### *Retail Markets for Social Trade*

The second essential to an adequate, constructive municipal market policy is the adaptation of the city's markets to movements of population and to the city's environmental needs. As residential centers change, markets decay. Stall rentals must, therefore, be

sufficient to provide depreciation and replacement funds so that markets may be relocated in order to follow population movements. The typical European market system includes the central wholesale terminal market, as above described, where retailing is also permitted, and a number of branch retail markets. Thus in Paris, there are, in addition to the *Halles Centrales*, 33 small retail public markets. In Budapest there are one central and six branch markets. In Antwerp there are two covered and nineteen open air markets.

Not only must the retail municipal market be adapted to population movements, but it must also be adapted to modern conditions and usages. The retail unit characteristic of the day of the telephone and central supply station is a small store, such as the Acme Tea stores, the United Cigar Company stores, the Horn and Hardart restaurants, where there is a quick turn over of capital, and where delivery charges are low. The retail municipal market, to be successful, must adapt itself to this tendency. Its size will, therefore, depend on the number of buyers round about and will be different for each city and in each section of the same city. It need only be large enough to offer a sufficient variety to the purchaser to tempt him to come there to buy. Its success or effectiveness, therefore, cannot be measured solely by the number of stall renters or purchasers. To compete with modern retailing methods, there must be coöperative deliveries, and to compete with the central buying concerns, there must be coöperative buying among the stall renters. In general, through their associations or otherwise, the stall renters must form an aggressive, competing unit, fully cognizant of the advertising value of thorough inspection of their foodstuffs and of virile supervision of their sales practices.

If municipal markets, wholesale or retail, are to be of the greatest social value, every effort must be made to encourage their use by farmers and other food growers. The market of former days was essentially a place where producer and consumer met. But today, the stall renters in the markets of the American city of any size are almost all professional retailers and in no sense farmers or producers. Thus in the Old South Second Street Market of Philadelphia, the larger of that city's two municipal markets, out of 315 stall renters there are not over a half dozen farmers. Indeed in only ten of that city's forty-seven wards do farmers play any considerable part in the sale of foodstuffs, and even in these ten wards they do not sell to over 10 per cent of the people. The time should come without doubt when

the difference between producers' and consumers' prices will not tempt the farmer to turn salesman for his own goods. But that time certainly is not here now, and for some time will be far away.

In the meantime, and indeed, for competitive reasons, even after this happy state is reached, every encouragement and protection should be given to farmers who desire to sell at the city's markets. In certain of Philadelphia's markets, many professional retail dealers in no sense farmers have out signs proclaiming themselves to be Bucks County, or Montgomery County or Lancaster County farmers, selling only goods fresh from their own farms, when, as a matter of fact, they have bought the goods that morning at wholesale, or, at the best, are jobbers who buy from farmers. Want of confidence results, as purchasers sooner or later learn of this fraud; both bona fide farmers and buyers then stay away from the market. City ordinances should provide that none but bona fide farmers should display farmers' signs.

Another legal obstruction to the farmers' use of city markets in Pennsylvania is the fact that the mercantile tax laws of that state exempt from the retailer's tax the farmer who sells his own goods, but do not exempt him if he brings in the goods of his neighbor. In the days when this law was passed, in the third decade of the nineteenth century, this statute worked no hardship as it let into the city, free of tax, about all the farmers who chose to come in, that is, those not over a fair day's drive out. But now in the days of trolley freight, the motor truck, the gasoline barge and better roads, the radius of possible marketing is five-fold what it then was. Now farmers must, to pay for their time, bring in their neighbor's goods as well. To amend this tax law so as to permit this would largely increase the amount of food produce sold directly from the farmer to the consumer. Of like inhibitive effect is the license fee of one dollar required to sell poultry in Philadelphia. The average farmer does not feel it worth his while, for the small number of chickens he can sell at any one time, to take out the license. There is no inspection that accompanies the license; it is primarily a source of revenue only. These are small things, to be sure, but the tendency is to multiply such small restrictions instead of endeavoring to take away every obstacle and offer every inducement to the farmer who wishes to frequent the city's markets.

*Open Air Markets*

To give farmers minimum rental costs, at slight expense to the city, in good residence locations, many cities in America and Europe, have set aside streets for open air or curbstome markets. Vienna has 40 such open markets; Antwerp, 19. The rental for wagon space, as a rule, is nominal only. Thus in Atchison, Kansas, and San Antonio, Texas, a charge of ten cents a day is made for each wagon, while in Buffalo the rate for a one-horse vehicle is 25, for a two-horse vehicle, 50 cents per day. In Brussels, the charge is one cent per day, while a bench may be secured for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents, or a covered stall for 5 cents, furnished and set up by the city. This practice of merely nominal rentals for stall space is no doubt the correct one. Careful inspection is necessary to make sure that all space renters in such markets are bona fide farmers. If other venders are allowed to use such markets at all, they should be segregated in sections clearly marked by placards as set aside for venders not farmers. This is done in Rochester's market. A third section could likewise be set aside for pushcart venders. All licensees must be required to deposit their refuse and papers in rubbish cans with secure lids and every other precaution taken to keep the streets sanitary and clean. Collapsible counters and coverings should be available for use in sunny or in rainy weather, to be removed by their owners after the market is over.

The pushcart, the vender's wagon and the open air farmers' markets offer the cheapest possible store at adaptable locations, and thus should give avenues for food distribution at minimum costs. While there can be no doubt that the covered market will be the better in the long run, yet the open air curbstome market offers a good temporary method of attracting farmers and of giving consumers an opportunity to buy directly. Two and a half miles of streets in Cleveland are lined by 1300 farmers and 400 hucksters. Both Baltimore and Montreal attract 1500 wagons each market day by their curbstome markets. The results of such a market in Des Moines have been described as follows: "Between 100 and 200 farmers gather on the city hall lawn and in the streets adjacent thereto between the hours of 5 and 10 o'clock in the morning, without paying any license or rent. They are permitted to sell direct from their wagons to the city consumer. The result has been that they have received approxi-

mately 50 per cent more for their produce than the commission men paid them before, while the city buyers get their produce for approximately 50 per cent less than was paid formerly. By compelling the sellers to display large cards stating whether they are gardeners or hucksters, the public is enabled to discriminate and to purchase direct from the man who grows."

The secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Oklahoma City says as to the effects of the curbstome markets in that city: "There can be no question as to the market having reduced the cost of living to the average family in Oklahoma City. . . . The first day there were about seventy wagons present on the market, and a small crowd of buyers. Within a few weeks we counted 318 wagons on the street (their contents valued at \$5,000) and a swarming crowd of people who jostled and shouldered each other in their efforts to secure the choicest first." (Written September 14, 1912.) Another writer says as to the results of this same market: "Actual figures, comprising the retail cost of all kinds of food supplies in Oklahoma City with those of a year ago show decreases ranging from 25 to 50 per cent; nor is this the only benefit the city has obtained through the establishment of the market, for the facilities for the sale of farm and garden produce have greatly stimulated agricultural settlements in the vicinity. Since the market was established more than 25 families have taken up small tracts adjoining the city for truck gardening, and hundreds of inquiries from others who wish to take advantage of the market have been received."

### *Market Rents and Facilities*

Since the purpose of municipal markets is to give facilities to producers and lower prices to consumers, stall rentals should be fixed at the lowest point that will mean a fair return on the investment and provide for adequate renewal and depreciation funds. This principle has been fairly well carried out in many cities. A fresh meat dealer in the central market of Paris can rent a stall, secure the service of attendants and pay for sweeping and cleaning for about \$6 per week. Stalls in the covered secondary markets are rented at from 10 to 30 cents per day. In Berlin the highest rental for meat stands is 9½ cents per square meter per day when rented by the month, and 12

cents when rented by the day. Fruit stands vary in rental from 5 to 9 cents per day.<sup>2</sup> Stalls in any one of the three substantial brick market buildings in Indianapolis may be rented at \$2.75 to \$7 per month.

Even with such moderate stall rentals, there seems to be no difficulty anywhere in running markets at a profit.<sup>3</sup> But the success of municipal markets must never be gauged in terms of profits. The city should be satisfied to get a reasonable return on the investment or a fair present valuation.

Of greater importance than low rentals are adequate and proper facilities for stall renters and for the purchasing public. The public must have clear passage-ways and fair purchasing opportunities. All noises, singing, acrobatic performances and distribution of hand bills must be prohibited within market limits and within a reasonable distance from the market. Hawkers and peddlers must be forbidden to ply their trades within at least five hundred feet of the market. The terminal wholesale market will, of course, have maximum transportation and distribution facilities for both the general and the country trade, with railroad tracks on both sides to facilitate unloading, with ample wharfage, docking and transshipping machinery. Each of the small markets where possible should have branch terminals, especially from all the transporting agencies that reach out into the surrounding farming communities. Thus trolley terminals at each market will give an avenue for direct buying in less-than-carload lots and an easy and popular outlet for the surplus of small farmers.

<sup>2</sup> In Rotterdam, the stall rentals for vegetables and fruits are \$2 per year, 20 cents per month or 6 cents per week for a space of about 20 square feet. In Birmingham, the rents for stands in the wholesale markets average about 18 cents to 24 cents, with an occasional 40 cents, per square yard per week; while in the retail markets, the rents for stalls and shops vary from 24 cents to \$4.37 per week according to position and class of business. Germany has subsidized her municipal markets by a law reducing the import duty one-half and railroad charges one-third for all meat sold in municipal markets or by coöperative societies.

<sup>3</sup> Paris has an annual profit on its markets of about \$1,000,000; Berlin, \$135,000; Liverpool, \$85,000; Birmingham, \$156,000; Vienna, \$60,000; Budapest, over \$100,000; Glasgow, \$14,000. There is likewise a profit in American cities. Boston has an annual profit on its markets of \$60,000; Baltimore, \$70,000; New Orleans, \$79,000; Buffalo, \$44,000; Cleveland, \$27,000; Washington (D. C.), \$7,000; Nashville, \$8,000; Indianapolis, \$17,000; Rochester, \$4,000; St. Paul, \$4,000.

Good direct roads will encourage wagon and motor truck shipments while wharfage facilities will stimulate the movement of food by water. Not only can such markets have good facilities for incoming freight, but the stall renters, under proper coöperation among themselves, and with the market officials, can also effect economies in help, in ice, in storage and in deliveries. The goal should be the elimination of unnecessary costs to all, that purchasers may secure their goods at minimum prices.

### *Lower Food Costs Through Inspection*

But minimum prices, it must ever be remembered, may in reality be unreasonably high prices unless accompanied by honest weights and honest goods. The one great social and advertising advantage of municipal markets, both for the stall renter and the buyer, is the opportunity afforded by the very nature of the market to enforce the laws and ordinances aimed at adulteration, misbranding, and false weights and measures. Buyers will ultimately seek out the well regulated and well inspected market. By protecting its citizens through virile inspection, the city will also ultimately further the best interests of the stall renters themselves. Inspectors of the health department visit Baltimore's market daily. In certain European cities, such as Budapest, all meats must be inspected before they can be offered for sale. Inspection by market officials, coupled with inspection by city and state food inspectors, should make it almost impossible to sell adulterated, decayed, misbranded, deteriorated, diseased or misrepresented foods or goods at the city's markets. The market buildings can be light, well ventilated, thoroughly cleansed and wholly sanitary. Reasonable regulations can be made as to screening goods from flies and requiring perishable goods to be kept properly chilled.

Health officials, however, need to be constantly reminded that their ends are to be attained by the least expensive, effective means. Food contamination means poor health, suffering and oftentimes death. Health and pure food officials, who have to prevent these disastrous results, are not always careful to accomplish their ends by the least expensive yet effective means. Foods must be protected, even to be cheap; yet the method of protection should not of itself be an undue burden to the business man and the consumer. Through

sane regulations, virily enforced, the municipal market can be made the best place for all to buy. Stall renters as well as consumers will ultimately profit by such standards.

The goods offered for sale in markets, especially in those located in the poorer districts, need not be limited to foodstuffs. In the markets of Antwerp is offered almost everything from vegetables, meat and fish to second-hand books, old clothes, furniture and household goods. In the markets of Budapest are found hardware, toys, underwear, hosiery, etc. In Prague are found kitchen novelties and all the various articles usually found in the American ten-cent stores. In Lyons, there is a special market where manufactured goods can be sold cheaply. To prevent abuse, each class of goods can be restricted to prescribed sections of the market. The sale of various kinds of goods at the markets will both entice purchasers and facilitate their buying at reasonable prices. Cheap rents mean low prices, and low prices will ultimately mean higher real wages.

### *Results Secured by Typical Markets*

Municipal markets have secured results. In Cincinnati 60,000 people flock to the Saturday market; in Baltimore, 50,000 on market days. Henry G. Gniffke thus enumerates the results secured by the open air market in Dubuque, Iowa:

"1. Dealer and consumer come together. There is no middle-man's profit to pay. 2. The dealer is under scarcely any expense for rent, fixtures or help. 3. For over 99 per cent of the stuff sold here there has been no freight bill to pay, no cost of crates, refrigeration or boxes. 4. The seller has no real waste, because he can always dispose of any surplus he may have over to the grocers, the shippers and other dealers, besides the home bargain hunters. 5. The purchaser is always sure of fresh stuff. 6. Supply and demand fix the prices, modified by the demands of the shippers for other towns and the abundance of stuff sent in. 7. The variety to choose from is nearly without limit at some seasons.

"An additional advantage of the market comes to the small man who has a surplus that he has raised. He can bring that to the market. For the fee of from 5 cents upwards he can find a place where he can sell this to the very best advantage, with really no expense



attached to it. This also applies to the small dealer who goes out into the country and buys truck to resell."

Consul-General Henry W. Diederich says as to results obtained by the market at Antwerp: "On account of the cheap rental of stalls, merchandise for sale in the markets is sold at prices lower than those prevailing in the stores, and the farm and dairy products and vegetables bought at the markets are fresher and usually of better quality."

One principle as to the market success has not been sufficiently clear to the buying and tax-paying public and that is this: the value of the market to the city and to the consumer depends entirely on the efficiency and thoroughness of the city's market superintendent. Market failure can most often be traced to the sodden interests or the narrow vision of the market master. Markets left to themselves tend to become but groups of grasping retailers, with no interest in public standards and no vision as to results accruing from enforced quality for goods and decency in sales practices. Upon the administrator of the market depend its cleanliness, the effectiveness of its inspection and the extent of protection to the producer, the honest retailer and the consumer. The value and effectiveness of the market as an agency for distributing goods wholesale at lowered prices depend primarily upon the virility with which its affairs are administered. The official in charge must, therefore, be of high character, steadfast in standards, with power to bring all stall renters to high business standards, and ability to attract to the market both producers and consumers. A market so administered will be a vital and up-lifting factor in feeding a city.

Something more is needed than merely a market clerk to administer the routine of the markets. There is needed a market bureau in its broadest sense, supervised by a director whose vision is large enough to include every phase of distribution and whose capacity is great enough to bring about a better coördinated and more efficient distribution system throughout the entire city. Such market bureaus can make a special study of the distribution system peculiar to its city. Through such bureaus needless costs may be eliminated and information secured essential to a sane, constructive city plan for minimum distribution costs. The market problem is as broad and as important as the entire problem of feeding a city.